

# The human cost

Europe's mounting death toll  
Behind the bogus Bill  
Refugees from the arms trade

## CONTENTS

Head teacher excluded from school	3
Kill this racist Bill	4-5
Unsettled – but not unsafe	5
Safe for profits, not for people	6-7
Accounting for racism: the human cost	8-11
The new boat people	11

## CAMPAIGNS AND REPORTS

Control the police, restrain the officers	12-13
Free the King's Cross 2 Gagging by other means	13
Support the Hillingdon hospital strikers	
Fascist round-up	
Malcolm raises racism in cricket	14
The other 'Britpop'	
Don't forget Satpal Ram	
A criminal review	15
Calendar: race & resistance	16



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## EDITORIAL



Asylum-seekers in Britain are being turned into a pariah group. Locked up, fingerprinted and deprived of full appeal rights by the 1993 anti-refugee laws, they are now to be starved out of the country by the wholesale withdrawal of social security benefits and social housing. And hand-in-hand with this goes the criminalisation of those who help them enter the country, or offer them employment. Neither the strong recommendations of the Social Security Advisory Committee nor the concerted campaigning by immigrant and refugee groups, churches and charities has had any effect on the determination of Peter Lilley (Social Services) and Michael Howard (Home Affairs) to marginalise asylum-seekers and debar them from access to the means of life.

The pioneer of such policies of segregation is Germany with its container ships and 'collection camps'. In southern Europe, and increasingly in northern Europe too, refugees deprived of all provision have been forced into shanty camps under motorways and in parks and catacombs. In most northern European countries, asylum-seekers are allocated to special, segregated government camps and hostels. Britain does it last, but does it better.

In the event, such official definitions of asylum-seekers, as outside any civilised rule of law, not only leaves them open to attack by fascist thugs, but commits society itself to an increasingly racist culture, from which, in turn, governments draw their brief for even more draconian laws – leading inexorably to more black deaths.

In this issue, we tally up the total dead in Europe in 1995, tracing them to official indifference on the one hand and murderous racist attacks on the other. The welfare network of soup kitchens and ancillary support offered by the charities and churches may alleviate the conditions created by the Asylum Bill and the regulations. But, taken together, what the Howard-Lilley package of Asylum Bill plus withdrawal of social security does is to cohere both strands of racism: the racism that incites fascist violence and the racism of institutional neglect. Both must be fought, they both kill. ■

## DEFEND FREE SPEECH

In Germany anti-racist campaigners who fight deportations are now under attack from the state for the very words they use. Bremen police raided offices of the Anti-racist Bureau on 17 January, confiscating computers, files and documents, because of a leaflet mobilising for a protest march which had written of 'deportations' (a word with particular significance because of its association with the Third Reich) and accused bureaucrats of being culpable. The protest, which coincided with the visit to Bremen of the Home Minister, was to highlight the mass deportations of 10,000 Roma to Romania, of 400,000 Bosnians to their war-torn country and of 40,000 Vietnamese. Now Bremen anti-racists face an array of charges similar to those relating to inciting racial hatred which have, till now, been used only against neo-Nazis. ■

Send protest faxes to Herr Frischmuth, the Public Record Office, Staatsanwaltschaft, Bremen, 0049-421-36196608, and to Herr Bortscheller, Home Minister, 0049-421-3619006 and copies to the Anti-racist Bureau on 0049-421-706445

# Head teacher excluded from school

**Pupils from Sheffield's Earl Marshal school took to the streets in January to defend their head teacher. At the end of 1995 the school was taken over by its local education authority, its head teacher sacked and the delegated powers of the governors removed.**

This was no ordinary school. It was the one school in Britain that refused to permanently exclude any children and which even tried to take in other, often black, children excluded elsewhere. Head teacher Chris Searle and the predominantly black governing board believe in inclusive education, and that meant making schooling relevant to the interests and needs of working-class pupils who came (some very recently as refugees) from Third World countries such as Pakistan, Kashmir, Yemen, Somalia, the Caribbean, Syria and Bangladesh.

## An anti-racist beacon

Earl Marshal's achievements are a tribute to progressive, anti-racist education. Facilities are opened to local Yemeni, Somali and Pakistani groups at weekends; a cricket centre to develop local talent was set up under the patronage of Devon Malcolm; pupils are encouraged to develop links with other schools in the Caribbean, Africa and the West Bank. During the Gulf War, pupils spontaneously began collections to help Iraqi refugees. And Chris Searle, himself a writer, has published a series of books of creative writing, poetry and interviews by his pupils at Earl Marshal. Playwrights, poets and authors from the Third World have all performed for the school's pupils. Even Imran Khan visited the school, causing the roads of Fir Vale to be blocked for hours. It is little wonder that everyone in Sheffield has heard of Earl Marshal and that the deposed head commands so much

affection and support. By the late 1980s, as the Tories managed through the national curriculum and other 'reforms' to destroy or dilute all anti-racist initiatives, this school shone like a beacon.

According to press reports, the school had shown 'poor teaching standards', 'lack of leadership' and 'bad behaviour among pupils'. The authority pretended it was taking over the school on behalf of parents who had lost faith in the school. Nothing could be further from the truth. The school is extremely popular and its governing body is intimately involved in the school's development. Over the last five years, after a successful campaign to save the school from closure, enrolment rose from 390 to 570.

What really happened? Over a year ago a few reactionary teachers, who were opposed to the non-expulsion policy, involved their union by standing on their right not to teach three children whom they wanted excluded. They took their complaint to local MP David Blunkett, then shadow education secretary, who wrote to the local authority to 'remove' Searle.

## Ofsted's role

Ofsted, the national school inspection team, was brought in to investigate the running of the school and assess its standards. Every aspect of the school was scrutinised. What, for example, asked Ofsted, did the anti-racist poster series *Whose world is the World?*, which Searle had displayed, have to do with the national curriculum? Well, replied the head, we have a majority of children who have come from countries that underwent colonialism. There is a benefit in children having other views of history, for example from the Third World. But when the inspectors were told of the relevance of the perspectives of black historians like Walter Rodney, their answer was 'Who?'

## Colonial controls

Ofsted came up with a set of targets that had to be met. The school was ordered to raise its standards by 1996 and simultaneously to accept budget cuts

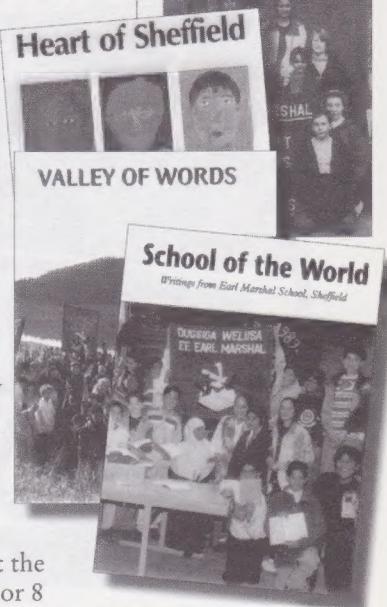
which meant the sacking of 7 or 8 teachers. Searle described the conditions to CARF as the kind of structural adjustment programmes the International Monetary Fund imposed on poor countries. But with the school under 'special measures', he had no option but to draw up proposals to meet the demanded cuts. Then, without warning, he was told not to return after the Christmas break and the governors' powers were removed.

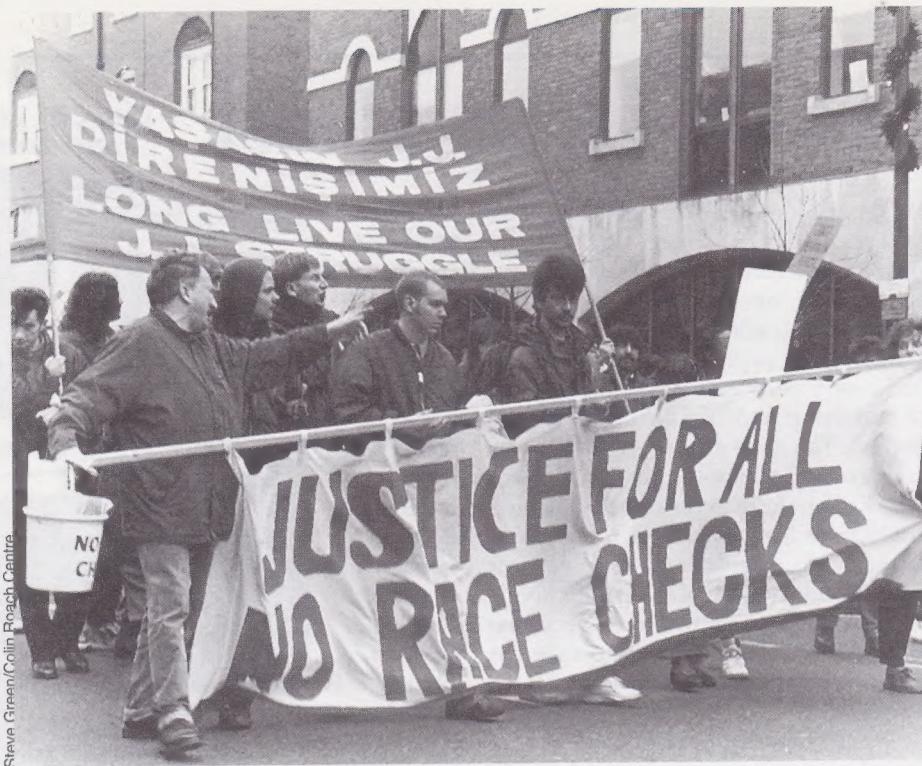
The whole point of the Tory educational 'reforms' was to give local control to schools. Now what is effectively being said in this case is that where a head is progressive and the governors are black and sensitive to the needs of their communities, they are unfit to govern. And a Labour authority is out-torying the Tories. But the local authority underestimated the support for Searle and the school. This has come not just from the outraged pupils, but from the local and education press, MPs who have signed an early day motion in favour of Searle, community organisers who are petitioning against his treatment and the whole governing board which is now questioning the legality of what Sheffield has done.

Twenty-five years ago a probationer teacher became a cause célèbre when he was sacked from his east London school because he dared to publish forthright poems written by working-class pupils. The children went on strike demanding his reinstatement. And ultimately that teacher won a case for wrongful dismissal. Today the sacked teacher of Stepney, still standing for the same educational principles, has graduated to the Sheffield head teacher 'permanently excluded' from school! ■

For details of the campaign for Earl Marshal school contact CARF.

LIVES OF LOVE AND HOPE





Steve Green/Colin Roach Centre

**Benefit payments to asylum-seekers take up a quarter of one percent of the total budget to the Department of Social Security, yet the government insists that the benefit cuts are a cost-saving measure and nothing to do with racism.**

The last three months saw a multitude of protests against the government's viciously racist Asylum and Immigration Bill and the regulations withdrawing benefits from asylum-seekers. In December, over 2,000 people, many from the Turkish and Kurdish communities, marched through Hackney to protest at the Bill. The route of the march passed DSS offices and schools which will be forced to become immigration snoopers if the Bill is passed. At the rally, the Colin Roach Centre, which organised the march, pledged to activate a campaign of non-implementation of the Bill and demanded that local trade unions defend any members subjected to disciplinary action for refusing to carry out racist checks.

A week earlier, refugees from the Ivory Coast led a picket of the Social Security Advisory Committee as it met to consider the benefit regulations. The Committee later condemned the draft regulations and recommended that they should not be implemented. The benefit cuts were deferred pending a parliamentary debate.

On 8 January, the date they were originally due to take effect, the West Midlands Anti-Deportation Campaign (WMADC) organised a soup kitchen outside Handsworth DSS office to draw attention to the poverty and destitution that asylum-seekers will be forced into by the withdrawal of benefits. But in January, Social Security Secretary Peter Lilley announced that the cuts would go ahead, although transitional provisions will protect some current asylum applicants. London local authorities have taken a case to court, saying that they will have to pick up the bill because of their statutory obligation to house asylum-seekers with children.

The chair of *Justice Nigeria*, Michael Ogunseye, told a rally in January the measures 'will only serve to pander to racism and further reinforce a climate which is increasingly equating refugees/asylum-seekers as criminals'. A message which goes out loud and clear from the rallies, vigils and lobbies against this new racist law. ■

# KILL

## THE BILL'S MAIN PROVISIONS

### National demonstrations against the Asylum Bill

**Saturday 24 February**  
Assemble 11am, Embankment  
March to Trafalgar Square  
Called by CAIAB

**Saturday 23 March**  
Assemble 12.30pm  
Embankment  
March to Trafalgar Square  
Called by ARA

For details of local groups campaigning against the Bill contact the National Network Against Detentions and Deportations on 0171 837 1450



Top: WMADC soup kitchen  
Right: Myrna Simpson, Joy Gardner's mother, addresses church rally against the Bill  
Below: Picket of Social Security Advisory Committee



Darren Jakobsen

# THIS RACIST BILL

- refugees from the 'white list' of countries, claimed by the government to be safe, will be deemed bogus unless they can prove the opposite
- use of the 'fast track' procedure to stop many more asylum-seekers from proper appeal safeguards
- abolition of in-country appeal rights from refugees who will be returned to 'safe countries' they travelled through
- new criminal penalties for people who help asylum-seekers to come here
- new police powers of arrest for immigration offences
- new criminal penalties for employers of illegal workers
- removal of housing and child benefits and rights from any immigrant group chosen by the minister.



**Nigeria was taken off the safe country list after protesters pointed out that Ken Saro-Wiwa wouldn't have got asylum if he had managed to escape to Britain. But Saro-Wiwa's execution and the country's brutal repression of pro-democracy activists have not stopped the Home Office from going ahead with deportations.**

Nigeria is somewhat unsettled [but] there is no evidence that indicates that Nigeria is significantly disrupted or fundamentally unsafe as to mean that deportations to that country cannot go ahead', claims immigration minister Timothy Kirkhope. 'Does he ever watch TV?' the Ogunwobi family campaign ask incredulously. Sunday Ogunwobi and his family have been in Hackney Downs Baptist Church since May 1994, one of the longest cases of church sanctuary in Britain. Sunday has been continuously resident in Britain for 14 years, after which a person is normally granted indefinite leave to remain, yet the Home Office refuses to exercise this discretionary power and condemns the family for their 'blatant attempt to evade immigration control', ie, deportation.

The fate of many of those deported to Nigeria has come to public prominence following the deportation of pro-democracy



## Unsettled—but not unsafe

activist Abdul Onibyo, who has not been heard of since his deportation on 26 October last year. He is presumed detained or dead. Abdul had been resident in Britain for 16 years—he was granted permanent residence in 1974 but it was revoked after Abdul spent more than two years working abroad. From 1993 on, the Onibyos' south London home was subjected to raids by immigration officials, and at one point Abdul was detained by Kennington police who, he said, gave him a severe beating. Not content with having sent Abdul to possible death, torture or imprisonment at the hands of General Abacha's murderous regime, the British government is now attempting to deport Abdul's wife and three of his five children. The publicity generated by the inhumanity of this case resulted in the Nigerian government placing an ad in the *Guardian* denying that the Onibyos were in danger and condemning campaigners who 'resort to the despicable tactic of denigrating the Nigerian Government' (model of good government that it is). In mid-January, Ade Onibyo, 19, who has been in and out of detention centres since last March, lost the High Court challenge against his deportation. He is expected to appeal.

Nor is there a safe haven in Edinburgh for

those who dare to express opinions against the Nigerian dictatorship. As CARF goes to press Akin and Teju Adegbeye are awaiting a decision on their asylum appeals. Akin was held in detention for 143 days in Saughton prison until 14 December, when an adjudicator released him on bail. He was forced to leave Nigeria in 1989 after being named as a wanted man by the Nigerian State Security Service due to his role as a liaison officer in the opposition Nigerian Broad Alliance. Akin's father was beaten and tortured by the Nigerian authorities, and his wife, Teju, was tortured and sexually assaulted. What more does the Home Office need to be satisfied that Akin and Teju have 'a well-founded fear of persecution due to political beliefs', and to grant refugee status? Will Akin and Teju be the only two Nigerians granted asylum in 1996? And how long will it be before the Home Office judges it safe to sneak Nigeria back on the white list? ■

All the above campaigns need letters of support to be written to the Home Office, 50 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1H 9AT. Ogunwobi Family Campaign, Downs Baptist Church, Downs Road, London E5 8DS (Home Office Ref. O97049), Onibyo Family Campaign c/o Lambeth Unison, (0171) 737 2134 (Home Office Ref. O107625), Adegbeye Family Support Campaign c/o WHARP, 16/1 Murrayburn Place, Edinburgh EH14 2RR (Home Office Ref. A510591).



# Safe for profits, not for people

Anti-racists must expose the economic interests and the hypocrisy behind Europe's 'safe country' lists.

Just as the Asylum Bill began its committee stage in the House of Commons, Saudi refugee and pro-democracy campaigner Mohammed al-Masari (pictured below) was ordered out of Britain. While ministers publicly ranted about floods of



bogus refugees from safe, friendly countries like Bulgaria, Romania, India and Pakistan, they were doing a backroom deal to remove a thorn in the Saudi princes' flesh in exchange for the renewal of arms contracts worth £2bn a year.

## No scruples

In exposing just how deeply Home Office decisions are influenced by commercial and diplomatic considerations, the Masari case illustrates the danger involved in the 'safe country' policy. When it comes to arms sales, the British government lets nothing stand in its way – not human rights, civilian deaths, UN sanctions or promises to parliament. In order to become the world's second-biggest arms manufacturer and exporter, Britain sold arms to Chilean dictator Pinochet, to the east German Stasi and to both sides in the Iran-Iraq war, and continues to equip the Indonesian army and Nigerian police.

Arms deals affect refugee policy. It was the head of weapons manufacturer Vickers, Sir Colin Chandler, who raised

with ministers the need to 'stifle' al-Masari to preserve the Saudi arms deals. And of the seven 'safe' countries on Michael Howard's list, India and Pakistan are large arms customers for Britain. Both countries are severely condemned in recent Amnesty International reports for the routine torture and murder of political dissidents. But India bought £700m worth of arms from Britain in the five years 1988-92, and Pakistan bought over £100m worth. Shortland personnel carriers made by Shorts of Belfast were used by police to suppress dissent in Sindh province in 1993. Yet Howard proposes to declare every asylum-seeker from these countries 'bogus' until or unless they can prove the contrary, and to rush them through an assessment procedure too fast to allow them to do so.

Diplomatic and commercial considerations are also behind the Home Office attitude to eastern European countries such as Bulgaria, Romania and the Czech republic, where extreme racist violence against the Roma has been perpetrated. All the east European countries on the list have recently signed Association Agreements with the EU, whereby investment is traded for the role of buffer-zone for Europe's unwanted refugees.

## Special relationships

In some ways, the white list merely formalises unofficial Home Office policy in relation to asylum-seekers from countries with whom the UK has a special relationship. Karamjit Singh Chahal is a victim of Britain's special relationship with India. Chahal, whose case comes before the European Court of Human Rights shortly, has languished in prison for five years awaiting deportation to India despite proof that he was tortured when he last visited the country in 1984. He has been labelled a 'terrorist' by the British government (despite being acquitted of

criminal charges).

Other countries not on the white list, such as Sri Lanka and Nigeria, also ex-colonies and recipients through the years of British arms or military and police training, are in practice treated as safe by the Home Office. Britain's relationship with Nigeria is so special that, notwithstanding the execution of Ogoni rights activist and environmentalist Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight colleagues in November, and total repression in Ogoni, the Department of Trade is sponsoring businessmen on a London Chamber of Commerce trade trip this February. (British trade with Nigeria is worth £400m a year, with big companies investing there including Unilever, ICL, Lonrho and Cussons, as well as Shell.) British arms dealers continued to supply the military regime with weapons including CS gas and rubber bullets despite an arms embargo, and received export licences to do so from the government.

Asylum-seekers from Nigeria and Sri Lanka and a group of other non-white-list countries described as 'straightforward' by the Home Office are subject to a special, short assessment procedure designed to reach a decision in weeks rather than the norm of several months. In practice, virtually all are refused – and, as reported in CARF 29, Home Office country assessments provided to Adjudicators who decide asylum appeals are grotesquely inaccurate, if the Nigeria assessment is anything to go by. In this way the recognition rate is kept low and the vicious circle is produced, sustaining the myth of safe countries and bogus asylum-seekers to justify mass deportations.

The 'safe country' policy was agreed by European immigration ministers in November 1992. A twin policy on 'unsafe countries', developed by civil servants to speed up the grant of refugee status to people from obviously dangerous countries, was ignored by the ministers.



...and which country did you say you came from Mr Er...?

So far, Germany and the Netherlands have published 'safe country' lists, including Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Ghana and Senegal.

### Expulsions

Like Britain, European countries operate unofficial 'safe country' policies too. Since 1993, Portugal has decided to expel all Romanian Roma; Switzerland and Sweden tried to expel all Kosovo Albanians (many were returned by the Serbs); and Switzerland has begun to deport Tamils. The Danish government tried to expel Iraqi Kurds to the 'safe haven' of northern Iraq, and the German Federal minister declared in February 1995 that northern Iraq was safe for Kurds. France declared that Somalis and Algerians were not refugees since there was no effective government which was capable of persecuting them, while Switzerland has not accepted a single Algerian for asylum out of 1300 applications.

The German government lifted the ban on the deportation of Kurds to Turkey, despite the fact that over 17,000 had been killed in eight years as a result of the Turkish policy of depopulating and destroying Kurdish villages suspected of harbouring or aiding PKK members. Germany has been a regular and large-scale supplier of arms to Turkey, and a strong supporter of Turkish integration into Europe as a trading and defence partner. In November 1993 the German government banned the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) and many associated groups, provoking complaints by Kurds that strategic and economic interests were more important than human rights. The French government followed the German

ban on the PKK in November 1993 and over 100 arrests were made in a series of raids. France made Turkey a 'strategic target' for diplomacy and investment in the late 1980s and won many large construction contracts there in the following five years. Along with Britain, it continued to arm Turkey even after Germany had frozen arms sales in March 1995 after the Turkish invasion of northern Iraq.

The German government has also allowed diplomatic and commercial considerations to influence its attitude to Iranian refugees. In June 1995 it banned an Iranian opposition leader based in France from coming to Germany to address a rally, claiming that she might call for an overthrow of the Tehran regime, which would be 'unacceptable'.

### Safe for profits

For it is not just Britain which sees safety as synonymous with profit. The same forces are at work elsewhere in Europe. While Britain is the biggest arms exporter in Europe, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland and Sweden are all in the global top ten. Italy and France sold arms, including land mines, to Iraq during the Iran-Iraq war. France armed and trained the murderous Hutu regime of Rwanda. Human Rights Watch reported in November 1995 that between 1992 and 1995 Turkey used US fighter planes and helicopters, British armoured cars, German armoured personnel carriers, rifles and machine guns and Belgian rifle grenades against Kurdish civilians. But in December 1995, the European parliament signed a customs union agreement with Turkey.

France's 'special relationship' with her

former colonies in Africa was manifested not only in the military assistance given to the Rwandan regime, but also in dealings with other former colonies' refugees. A high-profile opponent of the Tunisian regime was refused asylum in France in February 1995. The French government's refugee assessment body, OFPRA, apologised to the French Mission in the Ivory Coast for upholding asylum claims from two Ivorians. And just as Michael Howard avoids the tag of murderer by deporting Mr Masari not to Saudi Arabia but to Dominica, a former colony which has suddenly been given a 300% increase in foreign aid, so Charles Pasqua used Burkina Faso as a 'safe' country for Algerians expelled from France in the wake of mass raids in 1994, who could not be deported to Algeria.

Democracy itself has been threatened by the tangle of interests behind refugee policy. The Masari case illustrated how freedom of speech is compromised by arms deals. Judicial independence is threatened too. In France and Germany, ministers have tried to override court decisions that refugees from Algeria and Turkey cannot be returned there. In France and Belgium, court orders prohibiting the expulsion of refugees are routinely ignored by officials. In Britain, Kenneth Baker, when Home Secretary, disobeyed a court order in removing a Zairean asylum-seeker to Zaire. Thus refugees in flight from countries which lack a free and independent judiciary find themselves in countries where the judiciary is unable to guarantee their rights.

### Arms create refugees

Any campaign for refugee rights must embrace the issue of who creates them. This means exposing not only the mockery of 'safe countries' lists which cover a multitude of human rights abuses in eastern Europe and Third World countries, but also the complicity of western European governments in those abuses, through arms sales and investment. The recent campaign against Shell's involvement in Nigeria was a successful example of making those links. The campaign, which involved simultaneous picketing of hundreds of Shell garages after Ken Saro-Wiwa's execution, led to the Royal Geographical Society voting overwhelmingly at its annual conference in January to end Shell's £40,000-a-year sponsorship of the Society ■.

Campaign against the Arms Trade, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4; Justice Nigeria, PO Box 172, Feltham, Middlesex, TW13 6XF; World Development Movement, 25 Beehive Place, London SW9; Kurdistan Information Centre, 10 Glasshouse Yard, London EC1.

Our annual review of deaths across Europe reveals that it is the lethal cocktail of state racism and institutionalised neglect that is killing people

# Accounting for racism: the human cost

## STATE RACISM & INSTITUTIONALISED NEGLECT

Conventions, protocols and legal processes guaranteeing refugees' rights are all out; in are harsh new measures speeding up deportations, and throwing rejected asylum-seekers into conditions of such degradation as to force them out

of Europe. Michael Howard, Peter Lilley and their ilk do not concern themselves with the human cost, with the increase in suicide attempts amongst the incarcerated, with the deaths that are a direct result of poverty, despair and the denial of access to

the welfare state. Peter Lilley's regulations withdrawing £200m in benefits from 50,000 asylum-seekers, modified after concerted campaigning, come into force in February. But the UK is not alone in casting asylum-seekers into homelessness, hunger and despair.

In 1995, Germany brought in a new Foreigners Benefits law to cut social security payments, already paid in kind or in vouchers, not cash, by 25 per cent, and Italy has legislated to limit social security payments to asylum-seekers to three months, and to strike at least 76,000 registered immigrant workers from the lists of health centres. In Austria and Denmark, local authority initiatives set dangerous precedents. The Danish local authority of Aarhus ruled that refugees must work for 20 hours a week to qualify for social security payments, while Salzburg brought in rules to stop benefits to rejected asylum-seekers altogether.

### Anonymous hand of death

Such measures claim lives, not overtly and with an identifiable perpetrator, as with racist and fascist attacks, but



David Drew

anonymously and without publicity. Forced into camps for the destitute on the outskirts of major European cities, refugees and immigrants live and die in the most degrading conditions. Nobody knows whether the four unnamed asylum-seekers who died in a fire in a refugee compound outside Hanover were victims of a racist arson attack or of the fires that often break out in such ramshackle conditions. But we do know that **Suppiah Selvarajah**, who lived underneath a Madrid motorway in a makeshift camp, burnt to death when a rubbish tip caught fire.

### Homelessness breeds despair

Such camps, which exist across Europe, will undoubtedly spring up in the UK, where the provision of soup kitchens by churches and charities will be the only support for rejected asylum-seekers awaiting appeals and for those who fail to claim asylum on entry to the UK. Already the combined effects of homelessness and fear of deportation on the mental stability of asylum-seekers has been felt. In October, **Bayeh Arefayne**, a 19-year-old Ethiopian who had lived in a number of hostels for homeless refugees in Brixton, south London, walked into a petrol station, doused himself with petrol and set himself alight.

### No access to the welfare state

The Congress of German Doctors and representatives of the Dutch National Health Service are among medical professionals who have warned against new measures to deny hospital treatment to 'illegals' (and rejected asylum-seekers are now considered 'illegal'). The warnings came too late for a Kurdish asylum-seeker suffering from acute cirrhosis of the liver, who died after being refused a liver transplant by the authorities in Bremen, Germany. In Italy, the situation is so dire that the organisation

of alternative health care is high on immigrant and anti-racist agendas. In May, a Zairean woman lost her baby after a doctor at a first aid station near Caserta refused help while she was in labour. Similarly, a two-month-old Roma baby died in March after doctors at a hospital near Rome refused to treat the baby for bronchitis because the parents did not possess the necessary £2 fee.

Racist neglect has ensured the deaths of racist attack victims who might have been saved. In July, **Habib Hammouda** suffered a brain haemorrhage and a heart attack after being attacked in Ragusa province. Bleeding from the mouth, he staggered into a Punta hospital where staff thought he was drunk and ignored him. In Palermo, Sri Lankan **Gnanasegaram Selvarajah**, who was taken to hospital with a broken leg following a racist attack, was left in a hospital corridor in severe pain; doctors refused to attend to him until after tissue death set in. He too died.

### SUICIDE OF DEPORTEES

Governments do not hold themselves accountable for the human cost of their measures to speed up the expulsion of asylum-seekers, which means there are no accurate figures of suicides among asylum-seekers and immigration detainees. The sterling efforts of the Berlin Anti-Racist Information Network and the Cologne-based youth-club 'Courage', which staged the exhibition *Persecuted, Forgotten*, mean that the most accurate and detailed information comes from Germany, which tops the league in this category. Ethiopian **Abijou Tilaye** was one of seven who killed themselves in detention pending deportation. Kurd **Ahmed Polap** threw himself under a train (the Kurds have been subject to mass repatriation attempts in 1995).

The four suicides in the UK seem to

# Racism and institutionalised neglect which now poses the greatest threat to life and dignity.

have gone virtually unnoticed. But in other countries, deportees' suicides still cause widespread concern. In the Netherlands, the national ombudsman set up a special commission to investigate suicides after the deaths of four immigration detainees. In France, a judicial inquiry was set up after **Akim Mama** hanged himself in a centre for foreigners awaiting deportation. Other prisoners say that they heard Mama repeatedly banging on his cell door, shouting out that he was ill. His pleas to be taken to hospital were ignored.

## FAR RIGHT/NATIONALISM

There have been 14 deaths involving far-Right or nationalist groups, in Austria, France, Germany, Portugal, Spain and Sweden. Apart from the murder of four Romany in Austria, all were carried out by skinheads. In addition, we have evidence of four documented killings of Romany by skinheads in four eastern European countries. Of a western and eastern European tally of 18 deaths, eight were Romany, four were young black Europeans, three were either students or on the alternative anti-fascist scene, one was gay, one homeless and one killed in a case of mistaken identity.

### Bridge to racial terrorism

It is not hard to see why France and Austria experienced the most deaths in

this category. Both have strong extreme-Right parties which contested major elections in 1995. Le Pen's FN and Haider's Freedom party both condone racial violence and, through their presence in the electoral process, provide a space for racial terrorism.

In February, after three FN members in Marseilles shot **Ibrahim Ali**, a French national of Comoros Island origin, in the back, Le Pen blamed the presence of too many immigrants for the rise in racial violence. When skinheads threw Moroccan **Brahim Bouraam** into the river Seine after Le Pen's Joan of Arc parade in Paris on 1 May, Le Pen tried to distance himself, claiming that the murderers could be communists disguised as skinheads. Since then he has used bouncers in smart blue suits at rallies instead of skinheads. But a skinhead interviewed by *Nouvel Observateur* summed up the relationship neatly: 'The FN both wants and doesn't want us. They know we lose them votes, but they still want us to do their campaigning – all the dirty work.'

### Blaming the victim

In Austria, there is no such palpable link between the terrorist Bavarian Liberation Army, which has claimed responsibility for the Oberwart murders of four Romany and for a vicious letter-bomb campaign, and the Freedom party. But Haider's claim that the Oberwart bomb was planted by

the secret services of the former communist parties is remarkably similar to Le Pen's. In addition, the Austrian police's initial reaction to the murders ('an accident or a Gypsy blood feud') was indicative of public opinion in a country that only recognised Gypsies as a minority group some two years ago.

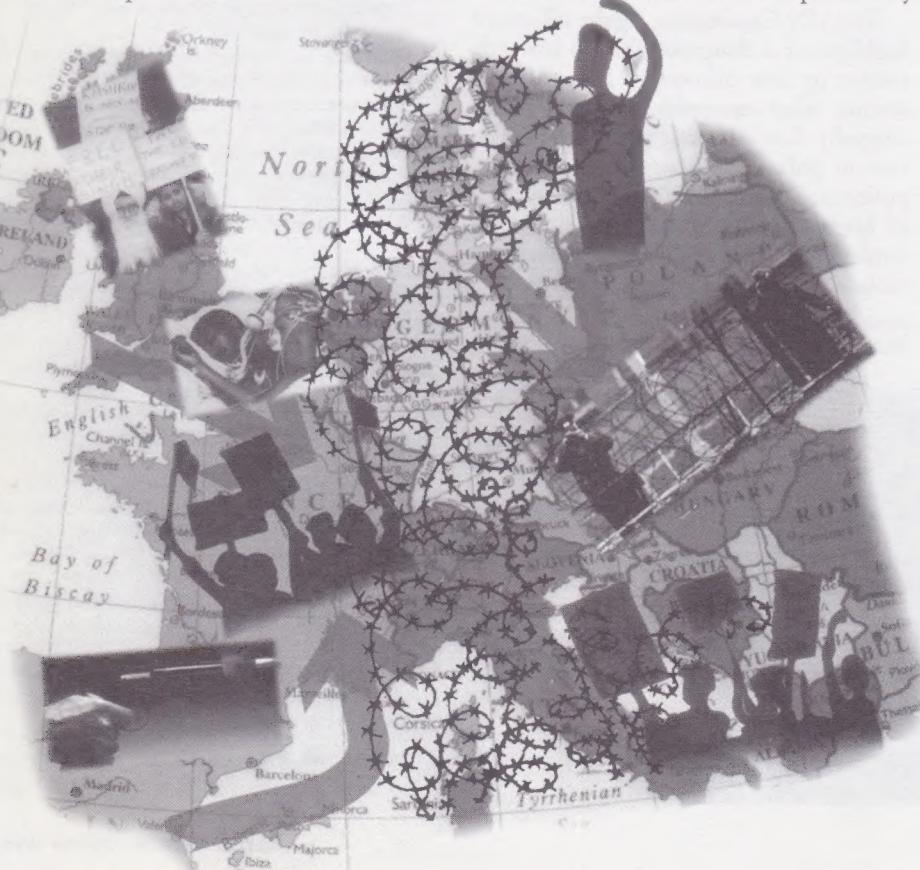
The relationship between electoral far-Right parties and skinhead violence is even clearer in eastern Europe. The Czech Republic's Republikaner party regularly voices skinhead grievances in parliament. Following the murder in Slovakia of Romany **Mario Goral**, doused with petrol and set on fire during a skinhead rampage a representative of the Slovak National party said: 'In a way they deserve it – Gypsies need a small court and a big whip.'

Germany, which had 12 far-Right murders in 1994 but only two in 1995, should take little comfort in its reduced tally. It has been at the forefront of the Europe-wide campaign to drive the Romany from the east out of western Europe. Fifty years after the Gypsy holocaust, Europe has forgotten its history. The persecution of the Romany continues. But the European powers deem that eastern Europe is safe for them.

## RACISM

The line between racism and fascism is never easy to draw. The sense of racial superiority informing the far Right also motivates much 'freelance' racist violence. It also informs court decisions. In Belgium, a cafe owner took a sledgehammer to a 15-year-old immigrant and killed him because he was making too much noise. The court accepted the man's plea of self-defence.

In Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece, immigrants are seen as fair game for local vigilante mobs, nightclub bouncers and agricultural sweatshop employers. In Mazzuri, Italy, skinhead bouncers used informally by the Northern League threw Moroccan youth **Khalid Moufaghid** out of a bar and beat him to a pulp. Moufaghid escaped and jumped into the river. The skinheads then set upon the north Africans who tried to save him, under the benign eye of the police. In Lisbon, it took the police two hours to arrive on the scene after a gang of skinheads went on the rampage, attacking any immigrant on sight, and killed **Alcindo Monteiro**. In Ceuta, local residents collaborated with police in an all-out attack on asylum-seekers who had staged a protest; the Africans were





**17 June:** Vo Xuan Cuong, 37, Vietnamese, crushed to death by train after police chase in Berlin (P)

**25 June:** Celal Akan, Kurdish, died after authorities refused to pay for vital liver transplant operation (IN)

**August:** Two Africans, from Ghana and Chad, died in arson attack in Ulm, southern Germany (R)

**16 August:** Lois I, 29, rejected Nigerian asylum-seeker, hanged himself in detention centre in Wolfenbüttel, Lower Saxony (SA)

**November:** Turkish man, 27, died in suspected arson attack on house in Bayreuth, southern Germany (R)

**11 December:** Polish woman killed in suspected arson attack on immigrant and refugee apartment block in Haffkrug, Schleswig-Holstein (R)

**29 December:** Four members of Turkish family died in suspected arson attack on their home in Schopfheim, southern Germany (R)

## GREECE

**26 February:** Undocumented Albanian worker shot dead by policeman after police patrol arrested 11 Albanians in Florina region (P)

**November:** African prisoner hanged and his body burnt during Korydallos prison riot in Athens (R)

## ITALY

**January:** Gnanasegaram Selvarajah, 31, Sri Lankan, died in Palermo hospital after doctors failed to treat him following racist attack (R/IN)

**March:** Two-month-old baby of Roma couple died from bronchitis after Rome doctors refused treatment (IN)

**April:** Baby died through lack of oxygen after Zairean mother in labour denied medical treatment (IN)

**June:** Khalid Moufaghid, 18, Moroccan, drowned in river in Murazzi after beating by club bouncers (R)

**July:** Habib Hammouda, 37, Tunisian agricultural labourer, died from brain haemorrhage and heart attack after being beaten by racists and then ignored by medical staff at Punta hospital, Ragusa province (R/IN)

**August:** Romanians Grigore and Danut Timis, 23, found dead on rail track in Milan, believed to be victims of anti-immigrant night patrols (R)

## NETHERLANDS

**January:** Algerian asylum-seeker with psychiatric problems beaten to death in Amersfoort (R)

**17 April:** Iranian asylum-seeker, 37, found hanged in Haarlem asylum centre (SA)

## PORTUGAL

**10 June:** Alcindo Monteiro, 27, Portuguese man of Cape Verdean origin, killed by 50-strong skinhead gang in Bairro Alto district of Lisbon (FR)

## SPAIN

**21 May:** Ricardo Rodriguez Garcia, 20, killed by skinheads in Madrid objecting to the way he looked at them (FR)

**June:** Suppiah Selvarajah, Sri Lankan immigrant, died following fire at immigrants' camp underneath Madrid motorway (IN)

**August:** Djouabi Azzeddine, Moroccan, found floating in canal with broken arm and fractured skull after suspected racist attack (R)

**October:** David Martin, 20, Madrid student, beaten to death by skinheads (FR)

## SWEDEN

**9 March:** Peter Karlsson, gay ice-hockey player, stabbed to death by skinhead in Västerås, near Stockholm (FR)

**29 April:** Immigrant Tony Boija shot dead at a lake near Borlänge (R)

## UK

**January:** Timothy Samuels, 27, bus driver, hanged himself after suffering racist abuse from colleagues and passengers (R)

**February:** Mushtaq Hussain, 49, beaten to death near Blackburn, Lancashire by racist gang (R)

■ Zinaida Mitzofanova, 63, and her daughter Valentina Featherstone, 39, from Latvia, who feared deportation, committed suicide (SA)

**2 May:** Brian Douglas, 33, African-Caribbean, died from haemorrhage and fractured skull after being stopped by police in south London (P)

**25 August:** Muttavel Vesananthan, 23, Tamil asylum-seeker from Sri Lanka, hanged himself in Norwich prison (SA)

**October:** Gosar Shah, 68, died of heart attack after being racially abused and slapped in Bounds Green, north London (R)

**22 October:** Bayeh Arefayne, Ethiopian, 19, due to be deported, set fire to himself in west London petrol station (SA)

**December:** Liam Harrison, 14, ran into the path of a car while trying to escape racist attack (R)

**5 December:** Wayne Douglas died in Brixton police station, south London, after his arrest by police using long batons (P)

## AND IN EASTERN EUROPE...

### BULGARIA

**20 March:** Romany died following arson attack in Sofia (FR)

**March:** Angel Angelov, 22, Romany, shot dead by policeman in Nova Zagora, Sliven district (P)

### CZECH REPUBLIC

**13 May:** Tibor Berkey, 43, Romany, beaten to death by skinheads in Zdár nad Sázavou, south Moravia (FR)

### POLAND

**March:** Romany couple murdered in Pabianice, suburb of Lodz (R)

**10 March:** Punk youth killed by skinheads in Laziski (FR)

### SLOVAKIA

**30 July:** Mario Goral, 18, Romany, died after skinheads set him alight in Ziar nad Hronom (FR)

**There is no systematic monitoring of deaths in eastern Europe, and so these are gross underestimates.**

# The new boat people



AP/WIDEWORLD

**Documented deaths of refugees directly attributable to Fortress Europe – border militarisation, detention, asylum laws and carrier sanctions – total 222 since January 1993 and continued to increase in 1995, writes UNITED.**

On 1 December, 18 Albanians drowned when their small boat capsized in the Adriatic near the Italian port of Otranto. At least 12 others throughout Europe drowned crossing borders or jumping into rivers to escape police checks or deportation.

Many have died as stowaways. On 17 January, two Ghanaians were found dead of pesticide poisoning in the hold of a ship docking at the French port of St Malo. Three refugees from the Ivory coast were found suffocated in early March in the hold of a ship that docked in Valencia, Spain. And two Iraqi stowaways were presumed drowned after being thrown off a Cypriot ship off the Spanish coast on 17 June.

Perhaps the most shocking case was that of the 18 Sri Lankan Tamils abandoned in a sealed trailer in a car park in Györ, Hungary on 15 July, who were discovered suffocated to death after passers-by, alerted by the foul smell, contacted the authorities. Other deaths included three Albanians who were struck by trains while walking along the railway track into Switzerland, and four Pakistanis killed crossing a minefield on the Turkish border.

UNITED's Refugee Campaign will continue in 1996, with a major focus on detention policies and conditions in detention centres. UNITED is organising a major international meeting, 'Speak Out for Refugees' Rights', in the European Parliament in June. This meeting will be a broad platform for all those concerned about the plight of refugees in Europe. And finally, UNITED will again be marking International Refugee Day on 16 June, when many refugee support organisations from all over Europe will be organising activities. ■

UNITED for Intercultural Action, Postbus 413, 1000 AK Amsterdam, Netherlands.  
Tel: (00)31 20 683 4778; Fax (00)31 20 683 4582.  
E-mail: united@antenna.nl



# Control the police, restrain the officers

When black people took to the streets of Brixton in December the media were only concerned about the value of the damage caused to property and businesses. Wayne Douglas' death after blows from a police baton, mirroring the death of Brian Douglas seven months earlier, was of virtually no account.

Black deaths go unremarked, black community groups are the only ones protesting at the violence and callousness of the authorities. The average person in England might have heard of Joy Gardner, but not that 20 black people have died since Joy Gardner, and that in every such death families are left not knowing how someone died; that protests about the casual use of intravenous drugs or 'control and restraint' techniques, incorrect medical care, or the use of body belts have not prevented their further use; that in only two cases have officers been prosecuted and that only two families have ever received compensation.

In 1995 twelve people died in suspicious circumstances in custody. Apart from the two deaths after police used their new 22 inch batons in south London and one death in psychiatric custody, nine deaths took place in prisons, of which three involved excessive force.

## Control and restraint

Dennis Stevens died in October after being held in a body belt of the type banned in the police and immigration service after Joy Gardner's death. He spent his last 24 hours in a bare special cell of Dartmoor's segregation block with a thick belt round his waist and his hands manacled in iron rings. Three post mortems have not revealed what caused the kidney failure that led to his death. Dennis' family want to know what caused the bruising to his body and why other prisoners claimed Dennis was beaten (see CARF 29).

Two more black men died under (non-mechanical) 'control and restraint' in prisons. 25-year-old Kenneth Severin, a black man with mental health problems, suffered consistent racial harassment at



Dennis Stevens

his Greenwich home. While awaiting rehousing by the council he was arrested, apparently trying to get back into his boarded-up home, charged with trespass and remanded to Belmarsh prison as someone of no fixed abode. In the prison's hospital wing, he grew agitated when a drugs search was initiated. (It is alleged that he was holding some tobacco for another prisoner.) Officers moved him to a strip cell using control and restraint techniques. He died on 26 November during the transfer.

Twelve days later another young black man, Alton Manning, met his death in a very similar way in Blakenhurst private prison.

## ► DEATHS IN CUSTODY 1995

**Lungile Simelane**, 27, died 6.5.95, found hanging in Holloway prison

**Brian Douglas**, 33, died 8.5.95 after blow from police baton in south London

**Dajin George**, 26, died 5.6.95, jumped from balcony whilst in psychiatric care

**Mohammed Massaquoi**, 22, died August 1995, found hanging in Hightown prison

**Muttavel Vasanthan**, 25, died 25.8.95, found hanging in Norwich prison

**Peter Williams**, 19, died 31.8.95, found hanging in Aylesbury YOI

**Raja Khan**, 24, died 5.10.95, found hanging in Mount prison

**Dennis Stevens**, 29, died 18.10.95, in body belt in Dartmoor prison

**Brian Augustine**, died 30.10.95, found hanging in Pentonville prison

**Kenneth Severin**, 25, died 26.11.95 in medical wing of Belmarsh prison

**Wayne Douglas**, 25, died 5.12.95 after blows from police baton in south London

**Alton Manning**, died 9.12.95 in Blakenhurst prison

Alton had rung his mother at 7pm to thank her for a postal order. Four hours later she received a call to say that he was dead and that a post mortem had already taken place. The family drove from Sparkbrook to the Redditch hospital mortuary immediately, but were allowed to see the body only at 9am the following day. They saw cuts, swellings and broken bones on his face. Alton's sister was prevented from taking photos, his mother from pulling back the sheet to see the body. The prison managers have given different versions of the cause of death: choking on food, or a heart condition. They assert that 'control and restraint' had to be used on Alton when he became violent during a routine search. As four to six officers escorted him to the segregation wing they found he had stopped breathing.

## Safety guidelines ignored

What so worries campaigning groups such as Inquest is that even when guidelines for police or prison officers are revised following a death, they do not seem to be observed. After Omasase Lumumba's violent death in



On 25 January, the inquest into the death of Shijii Lapite recorded a verdict of unlawful killing. It took the jury just 30 minutes to reach a unanimous decision, after they heard a trainer at Hendon police college say that kicking Lapite in the head was an acceptable method of restraint. Another officer admitted perjuring himself in the witness box. By its verdict the jury decisively rejected the police account that Lapite was a violent, cocaine-crazed maniac. The coroner referred the case to the DPP for possible manslaughter charges and warned, yet again, of the lethal dangers of police neck holds. ■

Pentonville in 1991, the control and restraint manual was revised so as to protect both officers and prisoners. Yet that has not prevented three more deaths!

And in March 1994 the Association of Chief Police Officers suggested to all constabularies, in the light of Oliver Pryce's death in the back of a police van, that the self-defence manual for police be reviewed. It highlighted the risk of using neck holds to subdue suspects. And yet in December 1994 Shiji Lapite died from asphyxia, his voice box crushed by a neck hold, in the back of a police van in Hackney.

We demand the control of the police and restraint of officers! ■

Contact Shiji Lapite Memorial Committee, c/o PO Box 273, London E7; Justice for Alton Manning Campaign, c/o BRAMU, 339 Dudley Road, Winton Green, Birmingham, B18 4HB; INQUEST, 330 Seven Sisters Road, London N4, Tel: 0181-802 7430



The uprisings in Brixton following the death of Wayne Douglas in December provided another opportunity for racist hysteria in the press. Columnist and convicted cokehead Taki told us in the *Sunday Times* that Douglas' death was a good thing since Douglas was a mugger and probably high on crack anyway. The *Daily Telegraph* took the line that the whole thing was 'set up for looting', while the *Evening Standard* made a human interest story out of the police officer caught in the centre of the Brixton riot - 'My terror as mob tried to kick me to death' - but ignored the suffering of Douglas' family. Other papers denied that Douglas' death could have provoked genuine anger against the police, condemning 'rabble-rousers' for inciting the crowd at the rally outside Brixton police station. The police joined in, demanding incitement charges against speaker Rudy Narayan and condemning as 'irresponsible' those few papers, such as the *Voice*, which looked at the causes and found police brutality. ■

## Free the Kings Cross 2

Chants of 'Badrul and Showkat are innocent!' rang around the Crown Prosecution Service's HQ in London's Victoria at a huge picket before Christmas. Over 150 people, mainly Bengali youths from Camden, demonstrated amid the Christmas traffic to draw attention to the plight of Badrul Miah and Showkat Akbar, imprisoned for murder and violent disorder respectively following the killing of white schoolboy Richard Everitt in Camden in 1994. The success of the picket showed that there is strong support in Camden's Asian community for the boys, who were convicted after an emotional and cynical plea by the CPS to the jury against 'racism'. Liberty, the Society of Black Lawyers and many other criminal justice campaigners



have expressed their concern at these convictions. The Kings Cross 2 Campaign, now firmly established, will aim to counter the media and CPS propaganda that Richard's murder was racially motivated and argue that no-one should be, in the judge's words, 'left to carry the can' for the

crimes of others. The challenge will be to build a united campaign for justice in Somers Town, an area where the white community is prey to both the 'Rights for Whites' propaganda of the BNP and to the disinformation of the police, who reportedly told local whites that the campaign is 'anti-white'. Police have also, with the help of the head teacher, attempted to identify those involved in the campaign among pupils at South Camden Community School (described as a 'hotbed of racial tension' where Richard Everitt was a pupil). In this climate, the campaign needs a broad base of support to secure the freedom of Badrul and Showkat. ■

Get your organisation to affiliate/donate money to the campaign. Tel: 0171 388 3259 for details.

## Gagging by other means

In December 1995 the BBC lost a High Court libel action brought by two police officers who claimed that a *Panorama* programme, 'Race Hate in the UK', wrongly portrayed them as being racist. They claimed this brought them great suffering and hardship. The court concurred and awarded compensation of £14,000 and £4,000 to PCs Callaghan and Wright for the damage to their reputation. The *Panorama* programme, transmitted five years ago, examined the issue of racial violence. Among a range of views and cases highlighted by the programme was that of Mr Govindan, a shopkeeper in Plaistow, east London, whose security cameras recorded a racist attack upon himself, and the actions of police officers who, on arriving at the shop, arrested Mr Govindan. The

officers argued that those who knew them could recognise them from the short video clips included in the *Panorama* programme, although it took them a year to make a written complaint. The charges against Mr Govindan were dismissed by the magistrate when the purported 'victim' of Mr Govindan's act of self-defence twice failed to appear in court to give evidence. Supported by Newham Monitoring Project, Mr Govindan sued the police for wrongful arrest and malicious prosecution and obtained an out-of-court settlement of £1,500. The BBC were not allowed to reveal any of these details during the libel action.

The prime mover behind the action was the Police Federation, which persuaded the police officers to bring the action and provided the financial and legal resources.

The decision came on the heels of threats to prosecute those who spoke out in protest against the death in police custody of Wayne Douglas at a Brixton rally last December. The police have already stated their intention to monitor future speeches of protesters. Are we witnessing the start of a concerted 'media watch' initiative where the threat of similar court action against individuals, campaigns and corporations will be used to silence protest and suppress the asking of awkward questions? ■



## Support the Hillingdon hospital strikers

'We will not be treated like slaves,' said one of 56 cleaners currently on strike outside Hillingdon hospital in west London. The strikers, mainly Asian women, have been on strike since last September after Pall Mall, a private company, won the hospital's cleaning contract and tried to reduce wages by £40 a week (about 20%). The cleaners, many of whom had worked at the hospital for over 15 years, were sacked after refusing to sign the new contracts, which also included cuts in holiday pay and reduced payments for weekend working. When presenting the new contracts, Pall Mall also asked for the workers' passports to photocopy for their files. Women on the picket line have been racially abused and harassed by people entering and leaving the hospital but spirits on the picket line remain strong. ■



E. Hamilton-West/Guardian

Demonstrate on 17 February. Assemble 11am at Hillingdon Hospital, Field Heath Road, Uxbridge. Join the pickets outside the hospital every Monday and Friday from 6am. Southall Support Group 0181 843 2333 East London Support Group 0181 552 6284.

## • FASCIST ROUND-UP • FASCIST ROUND-UP • FASCIST ROUND-UP •

### BNP annual rally

The British National Party annual rally was held in east London on 11 November. The debacle revealed the depths of the internal divisions within the organisation as members defect to Combat 18, and calls into question führer Tyndall's ability to find the fifty candidates he promised would stand in the forthcoming general election. The fiasco can best be described by reading between the lines of the fascists' own report, in the December issue of *Spearhead*:

'Unfortunately a small element in the audience, well lubricated by drink, engaged in constant chatter during the speeches which was most discourteous to the speakers, particularly the party's guests from abroad. Stewards ascertained that these rowdy elements mainly comprised followers of "Combat 18", who were making a noise in the hope that in the event of their being asked to leave they could stage a disturbance and hold up the meeting - possibly even getting it stopped by the landlord... This slightly marred the meeting but the demonstration of bad manners could have won no friends for Combat 18. This rabble ended their exhibition by plastering their stickers over the toilets - an appropriate place for their activity...' ■

The BNP solemnly claimed that the drunken fiasco was due to 'the sinister workings of John Major's police state'. A more accurate observation might be that Combat 18 can at least organise a piss up in a brewery, even if Tyndall can't.

### BNP members support Sargent

Combat 18 organisers Charlie Sargent and Will Browning appeared at Bow Street Magistrates Court in November and January, charged with possession of

material likely to incite racial hatred, following police raids on their homes in January 1995. A small mob of C18 members appeared at the court to support them, including key east London BNP activists Stephen O'Connell and Dave King. Their presence confirms reports of serious splits in the BNP following führer Tyndall's decision to bottle out of street activities in pursuit of an electoral strategy. Sargent and Browning were committed to appear at the Old Bailey on a date to be fixed.

### National Democrats picking up supporters!

The National Democrats, the newly named Ian Anderson-led faction of the National Front, fielded a candidate in the Bowden ward council election in Market Harborough, Leicestershire in December. Their candidate, Kevin Sills, got 23 (2%) votes. This is almost three times the number of supporters that the NDs managed to attract to their Remembrance Sunday rally. No doubt Anderson will be hot-footing it up to Leicestershire to sign up the new recruits.

### Stop press: BNP loses typewriter

As CARF goes to press, BNP East Midlands organiser John Peacock has issued a bold and dramatic pledge to oppose the annual Bloody Sunday commemoration on 27 January in Leicester, defying the City Council's ban. Well, not quite. In fact he's written a curiously tame press release in the wake of the ban on the BNP's counter-demo, not pledging the BNP to do anything at all. The fact that the press release is hand-written says something about East Midlands BNP's current organisational state. Has the typewriter been nicked, or has it gone for repair? Never mind, John, your handwriting's ever so neat. ■

## Malcolm raises racism in cricket

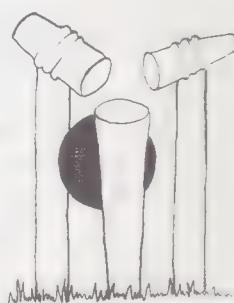
Devon Malcolm, the England and Derbyshire fast bowler, has again raised the issue of racism at the heart of English cricket.

In an article in the *Daily Express* on 15 January, Malcolm attacked the way that England manager Ray Illingworth had treated him on tour, alleging that from the start Illingworth went out of his way to denigrate him. He concluded by saying: 'I have to ask: would this have happened if I had been a white bowler?' Most commentators agree that Illingworth appeared to be peculiarly hard on Malcolm. During the tour he subjected Malcolm to unprecedented criticism, saying that he was a 'cricketing nonentity' who 'did not have a cricketing brain'. After the second test match he was dropped until the final test. When England lost the match and the series, Illingworth blamed Malcolm personally. Former England fast bowler David Lawrence makes the point well: 'Malcolm was the scapegoat for the team's failure. He needed motivating, not slating in public.'

The suggestion that there might have been some racial motivation for this stirred the English cricket establishment into a fit of righteous wrath. The Test and County Cricketing Board declared that they were taking disciplinary action against Malcolm, leaving him looking at a possible £10,000 fine and a long suspension. The speculation that Illingworth might, just possibly, have any hint of racism was rubbished (he, the man who, a few years ago, suggested that West Indians needed less training than British players because they were 'loose-limbed' and claimed on BBC TV that West Indians 'don't think' about the game).

Malcolm has been forced to modify his comments. Others looking back on the events of the last few years, events such as the Henderson article, the ball-tampering allegations, the spate of 'rebel' tours to apartheid South Africa and the fact that Yorkshire, Illingworth's former county, still cannot find a place in its first team for a black British player, will conclude that the Hit Racism for Six campaign is needed now more than ever. ■

Hit Racism for Six, c/o  
Centre for Sport  
Development Research,  
Department of Sports  
Studies, Roehampton  
Institute,  
London SW15 3SN;  
Tel: 0171-561 1606.



# The other 'Britpop'

During the last year we have heard a lot about the new so-called 'Britpop' – a supposed revival of the great tradition of making pop music that was essentially British, and proud of it. Whatever 'British' might mean in this context, and irrespective of the musical merits of individual groups, it is clear that there are equally British and equally vibrant musical scenes (eg, jungle, hip hop) which aren't picking up the same amount of hype and support from the music industry that Britpop has attracted. For the industry and the associated music press and television programmes, Britpop's unstated whiteness is more marketable than Asian or black music. It emerged recently that Heineken, sponsors of the Channel 4 music show 'Hotel Babylon', had complained to the programme's producers that the studio audience had 'a too high proportion of negroes'. Heineken were clearly worried that their investment would be wasted on a programme that was not white enough.

Against this background Asian musicians are continuing their own traditions of music which stretch back decades in this



Clare Godfrey

country. Against the stereotypes which see Asians as only passive victims and Asian youth as being in an 'identity crisis' between East and West, Asian groups are rapping a strong anti-racist message, allying themselves explicitly with campaigns such as the Tower Hamlets Nine. The attempt to deal with issues such as self-defence against racist attack has resulted in both banning of videos and vilification in the music press (see CARF 22 and 24).

The last couple of months has seen the release of albums from Asian Dub Foundation (*Facts and*

*Fictions*), *Detrimental (Xenophobia)*, and *Kaliphz (Seven Deadly Sins)*. Asian Dub Foundation, which emerged out of a music technology youth workshop, uses music as a vehicle for consciousness-raising, and building unity. The lyrics express the emergence of a new strength in Asian youth culture – 'now it's the nineties, we're not babies no more' – a culture that is radical in its defence of the community. Musically debunking the myths about immigration and stereotypes of Asians, ADF members describe themselves as 'militant scientists' whose mission is to separate the facts from the fiction. ■

## Don't forget Satpal Ram

Satpal Ram lost his appeal last year in his fight to overturn an unjust conviction for murder, but he will not be forgotten. The Free Satpal Campaign marked Satpal's 30th birthday on 25 January by holding a picket in Birmingham outside the chambers of his original barrister, Douglas Draycott. It was Draycott's incompetence and bad advice that led to Satpal's original conviction, say campaigners. They claim that the Appeal Court was more concerned to protect the professional reputation of Draycott, a QC, than to see justice done. Satpal is now in his tenth year of imprisonment after defending his life against a racist assault. Satpal's defence team is pursuing his case and will take it to the European Court of Human Rights if necessary. ■

You can write to Satpal at HMP Full Sutton, Moor Lane, York, YO4 1PS (Prisoner no. E94-164), or contact the campaign on 0121 507 1618.

## A criminal review

There is a clear line of argument underpinning Banner Theatre's latest production, *Criminal Justice*. Through the usual Banner mix of music, drama and images, the production explores the contradictions of both the Criminal Justice Act and the political climate which spawned it, and shows that in the name of law and freedom the British government is denying increasing numbers of people access to both.

What Banner productions excel at is making very big issues human and focussing on the everyday potential for resistance. *Criminal Justice* is no exception to this tradition. It brings before the audience a range of people – from housewives detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, to families of travellers being harassed by their 'neighbours' – to bring home both the new powers of the state and the new



Banner Theatre

communities which are emerging to resist them. Banner believes that something new and dynamic is being created as these struggles develop, making linkages and alliances throughout the country and internationally.

The production itself demonstrates that new ways of doing theatre and political education are also being formed in response to the 'politics of the stick'. *Criminal Justice* melds many different styles and media to present a coherent message. Well worth seeing. ■

**Banner Theatre perform 'Criminal Justice' in aid of Free Satpal Ram campaign**

**7.30pm Thursday 29 February**

**Red Rose Club, 129 Seven Sisters Road, London N7**  
**Tickets £5 (£3 unwaged) available from CARF**



## CALENDAR OF RACE AND RESISTANCE

**NOV 24** Tory MP Ann Winterton accuses the Commission for Racial Equality of practising discrimination in employment on discovering that two-thirds of its staff are black **NOV 28** Schoolchildren training for a charity hockey match beaten with their own sticks in racist attack in Newcastle... Home Office refuses to back down from deportation of Kenyan Mrs Sorabjee, saying that her three-year-old British-born daughter can go with her or be put into care **NOV 29** Met police say that Operation Eagle Eye has doubled arrests of muggers and is successful, but refuse to release figures on ethnic backgrounds of those arrested **DEC 1** Study into racism in rugby league says the problem is 'small but significant' **DEC 6** Report shows racial harassment is a significant problem in Hove, Sussex **DEC 7** Police brutality and mishandling of racist violence is a 'serious human rights concern' says Human Rights Watch report on Britain **DEC 8** 20-year-old Gary Dobson becomes third person to be committed to trial for murder of Stephen Lawrence in first ever private prosecution for murder **DEC 11** London is the most ethnically diverse capital in the world with ethnic minority population of 30 per cent, says London Research Centre... Footballer Les Ferdinand says racism in football is still rife, after being sent Nazi material in the post **DEC 12** Swastikas and 'No niggers here' daubed on Southend cafe, but police refuse to say if incidents are racially motivated... Formal inquiry finds Sheffield city council guilty of incompetence and discrimination in dealings with local black community **DEC 13** Protest outside Brixton police station at death of Wayne Douglas erupts into night of uprising of local black youth against police brutality... Police figures reveal 25 per cent rise in racist attacks in south Wales... Government forced to delay plans to withdraw benefits from asylum-seekers... Police say local teenagers are responsible for four-month racist campaign against Asian family in Newcastle **DEC 16** Home Office blames computer error for forwarding asylum-seekers' case files to Conservative Central Office **DEC 18** New legislation may be introduced following EU meeting in Madrid to stop the printing of racist material, John Major announces... Crown Prosecution Service to consider prosecuting speakers at rally outside Brixton police station before the Brixton uprisings... David Gregory, who claims his conviction for robbery was the result of judge's indifference to the jury's racism, given leave to take case to European Court of Human Rights **DEC 19** Two officers connected with the arrest of Wayne Douglas in Brixton police station are removed from operational duties but campaigners demand their suspension pending an investigation **DEC 22** Giant chanukiah at Golders Green tube station, north London, plastered with swastika stickers **JAN 5** Campaign posters against Gypsy camp site in Wrexham are reported to Commission for Racial Equality **JAN 6** Home Secretary Michael Howard visits India and Pakistan to tell dissidents not to claim asylum in Britain... Mark Campbell, the only black trooper in the

Queen's Household Cavalry, quits after racist abuse from colleagues **JAN 7** Heineken issues apology after senior marketing executive said a television show the company was sponsoring had too many 'negroes' on it... John Major defends proposed deportation of Saudi Arabian dissident Mohammed al-Masari, saying that he had abused British hospitality and was a threat to stability in the Gulf **JAN 10** Jewish father of three kicked and beaten in his own home by a group of youths who shouted anti-Semitic abuse during the attack... Half the Asian males under 25 in parts of Bradford are unemployed, says GMB union **JAN 11** Government says it will press ahead with plans to withdraw benefit from most asylum-seekers despite Social Security Advisory Committee report condemning them as 'racially divisive'... Home Secretary is accused of acting

unreasonably and unlawfully in blocking asylum application from Ade Onibioyo, son of Nigerian pro-democracy activist who has not been heard of since his deportation in October... East Sussex County Council bans BNP paper *British Nationalist* from local libraries **JAN 12** Many of the youngest suspects arrested for street robbery are youths excluded from school, says Met commissioner Condon... Two-year study by Scottish Asian Action Committee shows disadvantaged blacks are discriminated against by welfare system which is intimidating and insensitive to their needs... Government plans to withdraw benefits to asylum-seekers violate Britain's international treaty obligations, says United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees... Apprentice welder claiming race discrimination tells tribunal how he was made to walk manager's dog **JAN 13** Black nurses may be legally discriminated against when carrying out home visits because Race Relations Acts do not apply in private households, industrial tribunal rules... Churches unite to condemn Asylum and Immigration Bill as racist and divisive **JAN 14** Black barrister launches legal action against chambers clerk and other barristers who allegedly yielded to solicitor's request for a barrister with a 'less African-sounding name'... Racist bosses are to blame for Cleveland having third highest black unemployment rate in the country, says Durham University study... Southampton man says racist colleagues at tobacco factory threatened to break his nose and tried to run him over with fork-lift trucks **JAN 15** Saudi Arabian dissident Mohammed al-Masari lodges formal appeal against deportation to Dominica **JAN 17** Westminster council takes action against cockroach-infested and overcrowded bed and breakfast hotel housing 400 refugees **JAN 18** Government is 'lighting the blue touch paper of future riots' by failing to deal with deaths in police custody, MP Harry Cohen tells House of Commons **JAN 19** High Court refuses to allow fresh asylum application from 20-year-old Ade Onibioyo **JAN 22** All-party group of MPs calls for task force to weed out immigration 'racketeers' **JAN 25**

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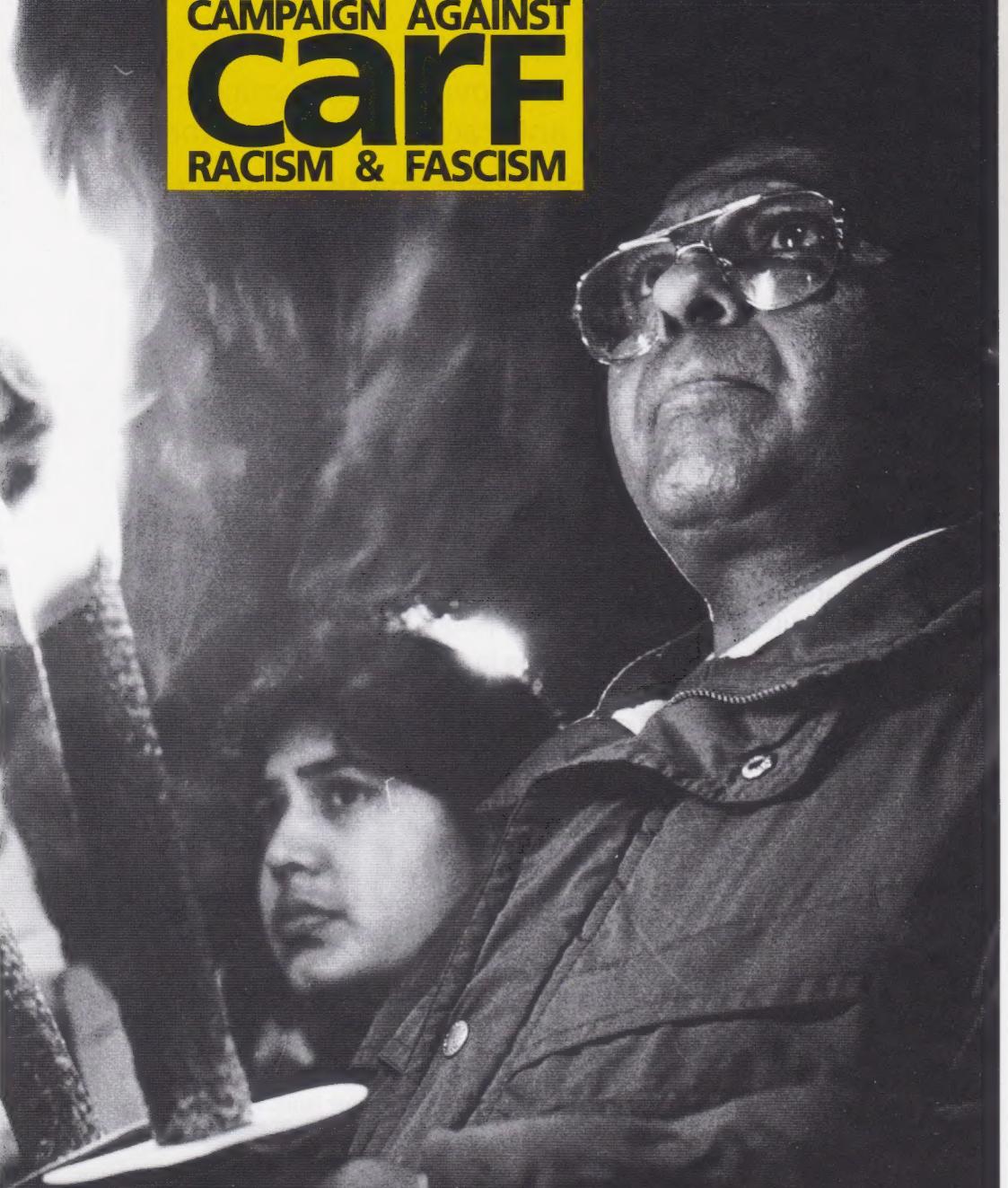
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